

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 EB-11 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

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PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1170

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 0256

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, JANUARY
9, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC HELD FIRST MEETING OF NEW
YEAR IN NEW COMMON NATO FACILITY UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP
OF US REP. GROUP AGREED THAT NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES)
SHOULD HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE FIRST PLENARY
AS HAD BEEN AGREED IN DECEMBER, WHEN CONFERENCE WAS
DEFERRED. CHAIRMAN ALSO PROPOSED PHASED REDUCTION OF
PLENARY FREQUENCY TO ONE PER WEEK AND LATER TO ONE
EVERY TWO WEEKS AND GROUP AGREED TO SUBMIT THIS
PROPOSAL TO WARSAW PACT. CONTENTS OF FORTHCOMING PLENARIES
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WAS DISCUSSED, AND AGREEMENT REACHED ON A SCENARIO OF EIGHT

PRIOR TO AN EASTER BREAK. A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PRESS THEIR ENTIRE POSITION AND PROBLE ALONG THE LINE TO SEE IF THE EASTERN SIDE HAD ANYTHING NEW TO OFFER. THE NEXT AHG MEETING WILL BE HELD JANUARY 10 TO DISCUSS OUTLINE OF INITIAL ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENT AS WELL AS ALLIED REACTIONS TO PRE-CHRISTMAS QUESTIONNAIRE. END SUMMARY.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE: CHAIRMAN (US REP) OPENED MEETING AT NATO BUILDING AT NO. 1 RENNWEG WITH WELCOMING STATEMENT AND EXPRESSION OF SATISFACTION OVER COURSE OF AD HOC GROUP WORK TO DATE AND ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS. UK REP RAISED QUESTION OF NEW NATO MBFR ADMINISTRATIVE SUBGROUP, SAYING THAT ITS FIRST MEETING SHOULD BE SCHEDULED SHORTLY. UK REP SAID HE ANTICIPATED A NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS WOULD ARISE AND GROUP SHOULD MEET EARLY TO CONSIDER THEM AND REPORT TO THE AD HOC GROUP FROM TIME TO TIME AND FREE GROUP FROM PREVIOUS LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS ON THESE TOPICS. UK REP ASKED FOR BRIEFING ON SECURITY OF NEW NATO FACILITY AT NO. 1 RENNWEG AND CONFERENCE ROOM. NATO SECURITY OFFICER REPORTED THAT ENTIRE BUILDING HAD BEEN EXAMINED BY SECURITY AND TECHNICAL EXPERTS.

PRESS RELATIONS

3. CHAIRMAN, SPEAKING AS US REP, REVIEWED ALLIED DECISION IN DECEMBER NOT TO HOLD A PRESS BRIEFING UNTIL AFTER RECESS AND BEFORE FIRST PLENARY AND ASKED GROUP WHETHER IT CONSIDERED IT DESIRABLE FOR NETHERLANDS REP TO GIVE BRIEFING SHORTLY. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT NONPOLEMICAL BRIEFING SHOULD BE HELD FOCUSSED ON POINT THAT EASTERN EFFORT TO CONTRACTUALIZE CURRENT RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES BY USING IT AS BASIS FOR REDUCTIONS WOULD CREATE UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR EAST. DRAFTING GROUP WAS REQUESTED TO PREPARE TEXT FOR USE ON JANUARY 14.

FORTHCOMING TACTICS

4. CHAIRMAN TURNED TO DISCUSSION OF NEXT TACTICAL
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STEPS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE TACTICS OF THE NEXT STAGE, WHICH WOULD LAST TO SHORTLY BEFORE EASTER, SHOULD BE AIMED AT CONDUCTING A SEARCHING PROBLE AND EXAMINATION OF THE SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WESTERN POSITION AS SET FORTH IN THE ALLIED OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS AND OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AS WELL, WHILE AVOIDING GIVING THE LATTER EQUAL STATUS. THE INFORMATION DEVELOPED IN THIS STAGE COULD THEN BE

USED AS A BASIS FOR DETERMINING OUR SUBSEQUENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS. DURING THE NEXT STAGE, A SECOND MAJOR TACTICAL OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO SEEK TO DRAW THE SOVIETS GRADUALLY ON TO THE TERRAIN OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL AND AWAY FROM THEIR OWN.

TO THE EXTENT ALLIES HAVE HAD ANY SUCCESS IN DRAWING THE SOVIETS OVER TO THEIR TERRAIN, THE POST-EASTER STAGE MIGHT BE USED TO SHARPEN UP AND DEFINE SPECIFIC POINTS OF DIFFERENCE AND TO MOVE INTO A STAGE OF DETAILED NEGOTIATION. IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE IMMEDIATE TACTICAL OBJECTIVES SUGGESTED, NAMELY TO CARRY OUT A DETAILED PROBE OF EASTERN REACTIONS TO THE ALLIED PROPOSALS AND TO SEEK TO BRING THE EAST GRADUALLY TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THOSE PROPOSALS, COULD BEST BE ACHIEVED BY A REDUCTION OF PLENARIES TO A MAXIMUM OF ONE A WEEK, AND THROUGH

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

INTENSIFICATION OF LESS FORMAL DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST. CHAIRMAN NOTED TWO WEEKLY PLENARIES HAD BEEN USEFUL IN THE FALL, BUT LAID A VERY HEAVY BURDEN ON THE AD HOC GROUP IN THE FORM OF DAILY MEETINGS AND CONTINUED DRAFTING SESSIONS. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO REDUCE FREQUENCY NOW TO ONE PLENARY PER WEEK AND SOMEWHAT LATER TO ONE EVERY TWO WEEKS. UK REP AGREED AND SAID THAT HIS DELEGATION HAD PREPARED A DRAFT SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS, WHICH HE CIRCULATED. ITALIAN REP AGREED, STATING THAT ALLIES WOULD IN THE PLENARIES JUST BE REITERATING OLD LANGUAGE ANYWAY. BELGIAN AGREED AND NOTED THAT SUCH A PHASED REDUCTION TO ONE EVERY TWO WEEKS WAS DESIRABLE IN ORDER TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF AN ABRUPT SLOWDOWN. CHAIRMAN NOTED THAT CONSENSUS WAS IN FAVOR
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OF CUTTING BACK PLENARIES AND ASKED BELGIAN ACTING REP TO APPROACH POLISH REP STRULAK TO SECURE AGREEMENT TO NEW SCHEDULE AND TO INCLUDE POINT ON EVENTUAL BIWEEKLY FREQUENCY SO AS TO AVOID NECESSITY OF GOING BACK TO WARSAW PACT A SECOND TIME.

5. THE USREP PROPOSED GROUP CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OF THE FORTHCOMING SERIES OF PLENARY MEETINGS. SPEAKING AS THE US REP, HE SUGGESTED THAT THE INITIAL ALLIED STATEMENT BE A STRAIGHTFORWARD PRESENTATION OF ALL OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN PHASE I PROPOSAL, BASED ON THE POSITIONS TAKEN IN FINAL FOUR WEEKS OF THE AUTUMN SESSION, PLUS WHATEVER NEW ELEMENTS COULD BE BROUGHT IN. IF AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED TO HOLD PLENARY MEETINGS ONCE A WEEK FOR TWO OR THREE WEEKS, WITH BI-WEEKLY MEETINGS THEREAFTER UNTIL THE EASTER BREAK, THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO EIGHT PLENARY MEETINGS. ON THIS BASIS, HE VISUALIZED A SECOND MEETING WHEREIN THE ALLIES COULD FOCUS ON THE SUBJECT OF US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES, TWO MEETINGS DEVOTED TO COMMON CEILING, TWO ALLOTTED TO SECURITY OF THE FLANKS AND STABILIZING MEASURES, A SESSION ON VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION, AND A FINAL ALLIED SUMMING UP ON APRIL 10.

US REP SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO MOVE AFTER A FEW WEEKS TO A RHYTHM OF ONE PLENARY EVERY OTHER WEEK, WITH THE INTERVENING WEEK TO BE USED FOR MORE INTENSIVE DISCUSSION AND PROBING OF THE EASTERN POSITION. WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE DISCUSSED BY

THE GROUP PRIOR TO THE MID-DECEMBER BREAK, US REP HAD NOT YET RECEIVED DEFINITIVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON THAT SUCH COURSE ACCEPTABLE BUT HE PERSONALLY WOULD PREFER, AND BELIEVED WASHINGTON INCLINED TOWARD, TACTICAL COURSE DESIGNED TO PROBE TO SEE WHETHER THE SOVIETS CAN BE BROUGHT TEMPORARILY TO DEFER THEIR INTEREST IN NATIONAL FORCES AND INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEARS IN FAVOR OF AN INITIAL FOCUS ON US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES. THE TACTICAL PURPOSE OF THIS PROBE WOULD BE TO GRADUALLY MOVE THE SOVIETS ON TO THE GROUND OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL AND
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TO OBTAIN MORE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST PHASE ALLIED PROPOSAL INCLUDING THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF PHASE I REDUCTIONS, COMMON CEILING AND STABILIZING MEASURES AS WELL AS ESSENTIAL OTHER FEATURES, AND BETTER CONDITIONS TO PROBE EASTERN VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.

6. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SUPPORTED THIS APPROACH PROVIDING IT STAYED WITHIN THE NATO GUIDELINES. PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE, HE ADDED, FOR ANY NECESSARY CONSULTATIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS AND ANY NECESSARY DISCUSSIONS IN NAC. CANADA WOULD WANT AS MUCH LEAD TIME AS POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN NEW INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD THEY BE REQUIRED. THE NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) THOUGHT THAT, BESIDES REITERATING ESTABLISHED ALLIED POSITIONS, THE WESTERN DELEGATES SHOULD NOT REFRAIN FROM REACHING OUT TO CRITICIZE THE WARSAW PACT POSITION INCLUDING THEIR PROPOSALS AIMED AT INHIBITING WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS. IT SHOULD BE AN ALLIED OBJECTIVE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON PHASE I THIS YEAR. COMMENT: NETHERLANDS REP HAS SEVERAL TIMES TOLD US THAT HE BELIEVES INCREASED ECONOMIC PRESSURES ON EUROPEAN FORCE LEVELS FROM ENERGY CRISIS MADE IT HIGHLY DESIRABLE FOR EUROPEAN NATO GOVERNMENTS TO BE IN POSITION TO PROMISE THEIR PARLIAMENTS MODEST NEGOTIATED FORCE DECREASES WITHIN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. AT THE SAME TIME, AGREEMENT ON A COMMON CEILING WAS NEEDED TO PROVIDE SOME KIND OF FLOOR AND CONTROL FOR THIS PROCESS. NETHERLANDS REP THEREFORE BELIEVES ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT BY END OF 1974. END COMMENT.

NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT WHILE THE ALLIED DELEGATIONS SHOULD STRIVE TO PRESERVE A HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE, THIS SHOULD NOT PREVENT THEM FROM GOING INTO DEPTH DURING THE PLENARIES. ALLIES SHOULD ENCOURAGE EASTERN PROBLING OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS, AND SEEK TO DEVELOP A DIALOGUE AS ENVISIONED IN THE AHG QUESTIONNAIRE. HE CAUTIONED THAT ELEMENTS MIGHT SURFACE WHICH ARE
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R 111244Z JAN 74
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

UK REP ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ALLIED POLITENESS SHOULD GIVE WAY TO A "MORE ROBUST" CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET APPROACH; MANY OF THEIR ARGUMENTS COULD BE UNDERMINED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PRESENTING AND EMPHASIZING THE WESTERN POSITION. THE ALLIED DELEGATIONS, HE MAINTAINED, SHOULD MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY UNTIL IT COULD BE DETERMINED WHAT THE WARSAW PACT HAD TO SAY. AT THE SAME TIME THE ALLIES SHOULD STICK FIRMLY TO THEIR FRAMEWORK PROPOSALS IN COPING WITH EASTERN REACTIONS.

10. BELGIAN ACTING REP WILLOT OBSERVED THAT THE AHG SHOULD NOT PUT OFF FOR TOO LONG DISCUSSION OF THE FORM WHICH INFORMAL APPROACHES MIGHT TAKE. THE BELGIAN POSITION WAS FIRMLY FOR WORKING GROUPS RATHER THAN EMISSARIES. BILATERAL ENCOUNTERS
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WITH EAST WOULD SOON BEGIN, AND THE ALLIES SHOULD ESTABLISH AND AGREED POSITION FOR DISCUSSION WITH EAST.

COMMENT: WILLOT TOLD US DEP REP IN AN ASIDE THAT HE REALIZED US AND OTHER DELS PREFERRED EMISSARIES AS MORE EFFECTIVE MEANS FOR CONDUCTING INFORMAL DISCUSSION WITH EAST. HE THOUGHT BEST WAY AROUND POTENTIAL IMPASSE WAS TO TRY OUT OPEN ENDED WORKING GROUPS AND IF THEY FAILED TO BE EFFECTIVE VEHICLE FOR DISCUSSION, AS HE THOUGHT WAS PROBABLY, TO MOVE ON TO EMIS-SARIES. WE INTEND TO DISCUSS ISSUE FURTHER WITH BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN, WHO IS STILL ABSENT FROM VIENNA. END COMMENT.

11. THE AHG AGREED TO MEET JANUARY 10 TO DISCUSS NATIONAL REACTIONS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE ON FURTHER COURSES OF ACTION WHICH WAS DISCUSSED IN THE AD HOC GROUP PRIOR TO MID-DECEMBER BREAK, EXAMINE THE AHG DRAFTING GROUP OUTLINE OF THE ALLIED STATEMENT FOR THE FIRST PLENARY, AND REVIEW THE CONTENTS OF THE PRESS STATEMENT TO BE GIVEN BY THE NETHERLANDS REP ON JANUARY 15. HUMES

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Message Attributes

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